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PAN-AMERICANISM AS A WORKING PROGRAM ¹

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THE entrance of the United States into the European war, the greatest of human cataclysms, gives the war a new aspect in its bearing upon both the belligerent groups. Indeed, the United States does not fight with a view to territorial increase or financial indemnity, nor in order to become an arbiter in European affairs. As President Wilson solemnly declared in his memorable message of April 2, it is the aim of the United States to defend the rights of neutrals and at the same time to serve the general interests of humanity by preventing a country or a group of countries from exercising domination over the world, and by establishing on a new and more solid basis the community of nations. The Allied countries have accepted, without qualification the noble ends proclaimed from the beginning of the war by the American Institute of International Law, a body composed of the most eminent publicists of the continent. The other group of belligerents has clearly manifested its determination to impose German supremacy and domination upon the whole world.

Such being the new aims of the war, the countries that have remained neutral until now, especially those of Latin America, cannot stand by with indifference in the face of a struggle that directly affects both their present interests and their future well-being. For this reason, some of these countries have already entered the war on the side of the Allies; and the others have given at least their moral support, declaring, however, that they will remain neutral so long as their rights be not

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violated, and that each one will defend its own rights in the event of violation.

We feel that neither of these two positions meets the actual situation created by the world-wide catastrophe of today. Such neutral countries have, therefore, only a passive neutrality—that is to say a position of non-participation in the war—and not the juridical neutrality which presupposes recognition and respect for rights that are essential to such a neutrality, above all the right of free commerce now so entirely ignored by the belligerents, especially by Germany with her submarine campaign. Consequently, it has become to the interest of these countries to agree on collective and solidary action in preventing or checking the violation of the rights of any one of the states of this continent, for the purpose of commanding respect for their rights and safeguarding their independence—which would be gravely threatened should Germany triumph in this war. Such collective action would, furthermore, be in accordance with our historical traditions.

In fact, a century ago the nations of Latin America struggled, as the United States before them had struggled, not only for their independence but for a new organization of national and of international life. Following the example of the United States, they established the state on the basis of a liberal, republican and democratic constitution, something then unknown in the Old World. They proclaimed from an international point of view (again in accordance with the United States) their acquired right to independence, thus forbidding Europe not only to rule over them, but even to intervene as she does with European nations. This is the Monroe Doctrine as proclaimed in 1823, which, in consequence, is not simply a policy of the United States, as is ordinarily believed, but a principle of American international law, since it was proclaimed by all the states of the New World.

The relations of the United States with Latin America, cordial as they were up to that period, relaxed with time, until even some degree of distrust was felt toward the imperialistic policy later developed by the United States, and unfortunately under the name of the Monroe Doctrine. How-

ever, from the beginning of the last quarter of the nineteenth century, the relations of Latin Americans among themselves and with the United States have assumed a new aspect that is characterized by the harmony of the interests they have endeavored to cultivate. This is Pan-Americanism in its varied phases—political, economic, juridical and scientific.

In the present epoch we believe that all of the states of Latin America and the United States of America should be in accord on the following points, which embrace all the problems of the present and future international situation; such an understanding would be new and perhaps greater than any other manifestation of Pan-Americanism.

(1) Why has not Japan, with her powerful army, entered the war, especially when through it she has already reaped important material advantages and is permitted to exercise certain supremacy in the Asiatic continent? If the nations of America should take part in this great world war which is tending to check Germany in her onward rush for world domination, their safety requires that they shall not exhaust themselves to the point of falling under the menace of another domination. With all the belligerents exhausted in the war, the result will be that Japan, using her powerful army, can enforce her will in the future, or at least impose the conditions of peace as well as enforce her will, in any conflict that may arise wherein she may be concerned. With this in mind, therefore, the states of our hemisphere ask for securities, that is to say, for Japan's effective engagement in the war, with all resources.

(2) What will be the basis of the future international organization after the victory? A new organization of the state would be needed from the outset, an organization based on nationality and democracy; a strong organization, thanks to a strength of state henceforth triumphant over an individualism that has had its day; but an organization without despotism, thanks to the rejection, by democracy, of a long-condemned absolutism. Then a new organization of international society, founded, not as it has been up to the present time in Europe, on political equilibrium, on alliances and armed

peace, nor on utopian schemes of universal federation in a league to enforce peace, because this league would be in reality similar to the European directorate or to the Holy Alliance established in Europe after the Napoleonic Wars, the result of which was the abusive intervention of the great powers in both the internal and the foreign affairs of the small states; but an organization based upon institutions which by the very act of avoiding the hegemony of one state over others would likewise avoid their rivalry, especially economic rivalry, and bind their common interests more closely together. These institutions should, as far as possible, have their efficiency demonstrated by experience, especially in America where the society of nations has rested upon more stable foundations. Experience also suggests the expediency of bringing into closer relation the various unions now existing (e.g. postal, telegraph); the creation of a commercial and economic union for the purpose of harmonizing the economic interests of the different countries; the improvement of the mechanism of the Hague conferences; the organization of a permanent court of arbitration; the creation in Europe and in America of a continental union in which all the states of each continent might discuss their common interests, as well as the controversies of a political nature existing between them and not susceptible of judicial solution, but without imposing their solution thereof. It would be the greatest insult to present-day civilization to believe that it is not capable of discovering any other means of solving international difficulties than the savage means of war.

The society of the nations, nevertheless, will not be truly organized until the excessive individualism of the entities which constitute it be corrected. Its present basis, in fact, is formed by countries entirely independent and sovereign without any juridical tie among them and without any regard to general interest; this cannot give a real international organization as there would be no national organization in a country which would be composed only of isolated individuals without association among them. It is then necessary to obviate that trouble; this may be done by having the countries which have

more affinity among themselves unite in partial confederations or in other similar political entities, which at the same time would be in contact with each other. The basis of the international society would thus be not the isolated countries, but the groups formed by them all. Although they are part of political entities, the countries constituting this entity do not lose their independence and sovereignty, but these notions of independence and sovereignty will be modified, as in civil society the notion of individual independence is modified in favor of collective interest.

The American Institute of International Law, since the beginning of the war, has been studying the question of the future organization of the community of nations as well as the question of a new basis of international law, particularly a more effective observance of its rules.

(3) The meeting—either in Washington or in some other American capital—of a conference in which the solidarity of the several nations might be solemnly proclaimed, with a view to securing the freedom of the seas and to putting an end to attacks made by belligerents upon neutral commerce, chiefly when committed in American waters. An offense perpetrated against any one of these states would be an offense against all of them; the action deemed most adequate would be adopted, and might be anything from severing relations to making reprisals or even declaring war. Notification of the measures agreed upon could be immediately transmitted to the belligerent governments. In the conference above suggested, the American nations could likewise arbitrate thenceforth as to the necessary means of preparing their future economic, political, national and international life in such a way as to have perfect harmony among them all at the end of the war. Not only the American countries that have declared their neutrality, but also those that have become belligerents, should participate in this conference, because it is not a question of maintaining the rights of neutrality in conformity with the rules of international law, which are impossible at the present moment to follow. What the American countries should strive to obtain, at all costs, is respect for their rights even to the

point of using force, if need be, to repel aggression, regardless of the fact that some of those that subscribe to the measures adopted with that end in view may be belligerents.

If the nations of our continent should adopt this or another similar attitude, all the world would find itself virtually in a state of war; and in such an event the excess of the calamity would bring its own benefit. The world being divided into two great rival camps, it would be possible to arrive at a solution which would be the beginning of a new era for the future: the reduction of armaments—the immediate cause of so much destruction—and the initiation of the reconstruction of the community of nations upon more stable bases, upon foundations which are at present Pan-American, as we have indicated, but which would be of a universal character in the future.

In our continent, Pan-Americanism must seek new courses which correspond to the future necessities of our hemisphere and which may be, at the same time, successfully carried out.

Under the international point of view, two confederations at least, should be formed: one that would embrace the five states of Central America, which has already existed more than once in the course of the nineteenth century; and the Antillean confederation, which would embrace the countries situated in the Caribbean Sea, and whose center would be Cuba. These confederations will be desirable in that they will give prestige and security to each country, and at the same time will aid in strengthening relations with the United States, and the rest of Latin America. The nations in each confederation will maintain their political independence, but dealings affecting all will be carried on with the outside world by the confederations.

From an economic viewpoint, it is essential that all the states of our hemisphere maintain a commercial bond that would grow stronger every day. When foreign merchants, however, are able to deal with the people through the confederation, and with the knowledge that the confederation is reliable, the financial and economic progress of the countries will go on and the entire Pan-American idea will be aided.

It would be wise, also, from a political point of view, to modify the Pan-American Union, so that it could attend in due form to the general interests of the continent.

Intellectually, the realization of the scheme is desirable in that it will forward the proposition of the Pan-American University Union, which was adopted at the Second Pan-American Congress. The purpose of this union is to co-ordinate the effort and investigation of all of the universities of the continent, to facilitate the solution of the great problems which will face the world at the conclusion of the war. It also will aid the development of the American Institute of International Law and kindred organizations.

With this course of Pan-Americanism our continent would in reality be one of peace and progress that would play an ever more important rôle in the universal society of nations.

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